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phrase one hears often but without further elucidation. Although there are many ruins of old town houses and plantations dotting the area and even the town streets, few people can tell anything about them or about their former illustrious owners.

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Almost no historical documents can be found in the town, as most of the old records have either been destroyed by insects and dampness or burned at intervals when there was no longer room for their storage, or else have come into private hands in small quantities. Most clerical records of the convent and mother church of the parish have disappeared, although undoubtedly some are stored in church archives in Salvador and Olinda (Pernambuco). Some information was obtained from the office of the justice of the peace, where records go back to 1800 and consist mostly of testaments and inventories and records of a few lawsuits involving property, including slaves.

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The community of Vila Recôncavo gives the impression of being a large private preserve. The town serves as contact point with the outside. Although the inhabitants of the community frequently leave it for business or visits, it is seldom that a stranger enters the area. There are no facilities in the town or in the rural area to care for one who has no family ties in the community. Going along the roads of the community one can identify practically everyone encountered, if not by name then at least as to where he is from. The higher a person's position on the social scale, the more likely he is to be known by name to a great part of the community. Strangers are probably someone's guests. But the appearance of an unidentified person alone gives cause for speculation.

[Class C Families]

her services ranges anywhere from fifty cruzeiros to nothing but thanks, but with the understanding that when she is ill the family will help her, since she lives alone. 759

If a baptized child dies before it is seven years old, it is called an angel and goes straight to heaven, while if it dies before this age and is unbaptized, it is called a pagan and goes to limbo. The angel is carried through the streets in an open coffin, for everyone to see. The lid is put on the coffin after it is in the ground, whereupon all those in attendance scoop in some earth. The attitude toward the death of a child is one of mixed joy and sadness, and sometimes of joy only. If the mother and father wanted the child very badly, they feel sad; but otherwise the general attitude is that the child is better off dead, especially since he becomes an angel. The difference in the ringing of the church bells also shows this, for the ringing for a dead child is a short, almost joyous sound, while that for an adult is a long, sad tolling. 761 851 775 [533]

If it appears that a child is going to die after it has been born, an effort is made to have it baptized as soon as possible. But if it is healthy, it is baptized whenever the family can do so. The baptism includes a small party for the family and godparents. Formerly if a child died before it was baptized, its grave was sometimes baptized on the eve of São João by the woman who had been chosen to be its godmother. The family and godparents would go to the cemetery at midnight and gather around the grave, which the godmother sprinkled with water and baptized. This, however, is no longer done. 763 851 769 851 178

According to the parish records, 705 children were baptized in the county during 1950; 320 of those belonged to the community of Vila Recôncavo. The civil register, however, showed only 276 persons of all ages registered in the county for the same year. A child is seldom registered right after birth, or even at the time of baptism, but whenever the parents think of it. Sometimes a person must do it himself when, as an adult, he needs a registration certificate. The situation is changing gradually as life becomes more entangled in official red tape, and people are registering their children more frequently than they used to. Members of classes A and B are much more careful about this matter than are the lower classes. 851 217 • 162 [178] [565]*

According to law, the medical doctor must sign a death certificate before a permit to bury someone can be obtained, so the figures for deaths are more accurate than those for births. The civil register for the community of Vila Recôncavo 217 [763] [759] 800

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Class C Families]

165 The civil register for the community of Vila Recôncavo listed 111 deaths for 1950, fifty-one male and sixty female. [217] The age breakdown was as follows:

TABLE 9
NUMBER OF DEATHS BY AGE GROUPS, 1950

under 1 year	36
1- 4	20
5- 9	1
10-14	4
15-19	4
20-29	10
30-39	10
40-49	6
50-59	9
60-69	4
70-79	3
80-89	1
90-99	2
over 99	1
	111

165 164 It is apparent that the first five years are those in which the death rate is highest. According to the local doctor's records, the most frequent causes of these deaths are diarrhea and enteritis (seven deaths), whooping cough (seven deaths), chronic nephritis (five deaths), and acute bronchitis (four deaths). The mal de sete dias (literally, "illness of seven days," an umbilical infection in newly born infants) was the cause of only two deaths, and only one natural abortion was registered, as well as one stillbirth. According to the same doctor, many more adults die of heart trouble and kidney ailments than of anything else.

553 [214] 551 553 The most popular method of naming children is by choosing from an almanac a name which strikes the fancy of the parents. In Brazil many commercial concerns publish yearly almanacs which are widely distributed. In addition to giving national holidays, saints' days, and various other kinds of calendars, they include lists of names, often of saints. While in the upper classes children are named after their parents and grandparents, lower-class families give their offspring all sorts of exotic names chosen from the almanacs, such as Estanislaus, Enoch, or Ignace. Sometimes the name is cho-

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

[City of Salvador]

permitting as it does a full and unobstructed sweep of the cooling sea breeze, makes these heights more comfortable, more healthful, and, consequently, more desirable places of residence. One usually finds here the more modern and substantial buildings, the homes of the upper classes. Here ordinarily live the scions of the old aristocracy, the large landholders, the city's intellectuals, and the leaders of its "society"; the lawyers, physicians, engineers, and politicians; the officials of the army, the poets and journalists, the professors in the Faculdades, the few industrialists which Bahia has so far produced—in fact, nearly all those prominent in the intellectual, political, "social," and economic life of the city. These families possess considerable property and employ numerous servants. Their members are usually literate, and at least the males are *formados* (i.e., graduated from one of the Faculdades, either in law, medicine, or engineering), a distinction which in the Bahian society marks them off quite sharply from the rest of the population.

It is in these areas that the five newspapers published in the city circulate almost exclusively and the latest fashions from Paris or Hollywood are known and generally adopted. In recent years an occasional example of modernistic architecture and interior design has appeared. Here are to be found the owners of virtually all the city's 3,855 telephones, its 1,028 automobiles, its radios, and private libraries. Here live most of the 20,524 voters who cast ballots in the municipal election of 1936. Here attachment to the *candomblé*, or Afro-Brazilian fetish cult, is minimal and Catholic belief is least modified by elements from the more primitive religions. Here live that portion of the population which *o povo* ("the people") call the *ricos*, or the "rich."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SL1

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By 1710 Bahian tobacco[15] was being shipped in quantity to "the Mina coast," which for more than a century thereafter absorbed a full third of Bahia's production.[16] A visitor early in the eighteenth century referred to Bahia as "New Guinea";[17] while the natives of Guinea were said at that time to have called the outer world "Bahia."[18]

In 1781 fifty vessels were engaged in the Brazilian traffic, "eight or ten with Angola and the rest with the Sudanese coast."[19] In 1800 twenty vessels were plying the trade from Bahia alone. According to custom-house records, 29,172 Negroes from "the Mina coast" and the islands of São Thomé and Principe entered Bahia during the decade from

[15] *Aguardente*, or *cachaça* (cheap rum), sugar, and manioc meal were also extensively used for trading purposes, as similarly were cowries (*buzios*) from the coast south of Bahia.

[16] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

[17] Amadeu Francisco Frézier, *Relation d'un voyage à la mer du sud* (Paris, 1716); cf. Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 185. The demand for slave labor in the gold fields of Minas Geraes so stimulated importations that La Barbinais, visiting Bahia in 1717, estimated that in that year 25,000 Africans were landed at Bahia. See Affonso de E. Taunay, *Na Bahia colonial* (Rio, 1925), p. 364.

[18] "It was principally to Bahia . . . . that the unfortunate sons of Lybia were brought, and it is for this reason that the natives of Guinea give the name of Bahia to Brazil, to America, and even to Europe" (Onesime Reclus, quoted by Manoel Querino, "A raça africana e os seus costumes na Bahia," *Annaes do quinto congresso brasileiro de geographia* [Rio, 1916], p. 626).

[19] Calmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 180–81. See letter of Silva Lisboa, *Annaes da Bibliotéca Nacional*, XXXII, 504. From September 29, 1771, to September 22, 1772, nine slave ships with 2,307 Negroes entered the port of Bahia. One ship, "Nossa Senhora do Rosario," carrying 371 Africans "and two babies at the breast" had not had a single death on the voyage. Another vessel, "Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Ponte," sailing from the Mina coast with a call at São Thomé, landed 13 without casualty, July 11, 1772. But other ships lost, respectively, 111 out of 374, 17 out of 468, 17 out of 158, 29 out of 233, 11 out of 308, 44 out of 327, 20 out of 302—a total loss of 249 out of 2,554 leaving the African coast (from custom-house records; see Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 458).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SLI

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patrols which later, aided by foot soldiers and cavalry and favored by considerable confusion among the widely separated bands of blacks as to the actual hour of attack, scattered and broke up the Negro mobs, but only after a serious struggle.[48] The leaders of the revolt were tried,[49] given two hundred, five hundred, even one thousand lashes, or shot by a firing squad, or deported to Africa. Further importation of the *batá*, or African war drum, was forbidden.

B BB 175 567 669

The number and persistence of these slave insurrections may suggest that slavery in Brazil was unusually severe. The reverse seems to be the fact. Insurrectionists were unassimilated free Negroes and semi-independent slaves, morally isolated from the Europeans. Although the hardships incidental to a plantation system obviously existed, and atrocities occurred here as elsewhere, the slavery involved, as we shall see in detail in chapter iii, was ordinarily a mild form of servitude. In general, slavery in Brazil was characterized by the gradual and continuous growth of intimate, personal relations between master and slave which tended to humanize the institution and undermine its formal character.

B BB 567 571

[48] A letter from Bahia published in the *Jornal do Commercio* of Rio on February 10, 1835, and dated January 31, reads: "Business and commerce is completely at a standstill by reason of a Negro uprising which last Sunday suddenly upset public tranquillity in this city. The revolt, which had been planned for a long time, was very serious, but the armed forces managed to put it down."

[49] The police records deposited in the Archivo Publico at Bahia list 234 Negroes who, subsequent to the uprising, were brought to trial by the authorities. Among these, 165 are listed as Nagôs, 21 as Haussás, 6 as Gêges, and 6 as Tapas. Documents found in their possession, facsimiles of which may be seen in the above depository, were written in Arabic characters. See also the novel by Pedro Calmon, *Os Malês, a insurreição das senzalas* (Rio, 1933).

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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sidered white, casually commented: "I learned the other day that she has a Negro grandmother. Someone who knew her family twenty years before she was born showed me a picture of the woman. The grandmother was as black as coal."

That such discovery led, and will lead in all similar cases, to no alteration in the social standing of the individual involved, to no modification in the social esteem in which he or she is held, is a significant indication of the character of the Brazilian racial situation as compared with that in the United States, for example, where a similar revelation would create a scandal.—"We never go very far into a person's past," explained another Bahian. "That would be impolite."

The meaning of the term *branco* (white) in Bahia is, as we have indicated, a significant index of the racial situation. A recent comparison of the classification of the first five hundred individuals listed as *brancos* in the files of the Gabinete de Identificação with the photographs (one, sometimes two, occasionally three) attached to the individual's identification record,[45] indicated that the racial probabilities were as given in Table 2.[46]

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It is clear that many individuals are considered white at Bahia who not only have Negro ancestors but whose physical characteristics definitely attest this fact. The old saying, "Quem escapa de branco, negro é" ("Who can't be a white

[45] An identification card is required of all students, travelers, applicants for licenses, etc.

[46] Considering the means employed, one must allow perhaps for some error in the result. But the photographs had received no "retouching." And even if color distinctions were still somewhat subject to misinterpretation, hair texture and facial characteristics were rather readily distinguishable. It is quite probable that what error did occur was in the form of an understatement rather than of an exaggeration.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

man is a Negro"), has now been largely replaced by, as Freyre says, the "more Brazilian saying": "Quem escapa de negro, branco é" ("Who isn't a Negro is a white man").

With due regard, then, to such qualifications regarding the precise meaning of *branco* as these facts suggest, we may note that the classification of births in Bahia in 1932 indicated the color distribution to be as given in Table 3.

TABLE 2

PROBABLE ETHNIC ORIGIN OF THE FIRST FIVE HUNDRED INDIVIDUALS LISTED AS *Brancos* IN THE FILES OF THE GABINETE DE IDENTIFICAÇÃO, BAHIA, 1937

Probability	Number	Per Cent
Whites	340	68.0
Mulattoes*	95	19.0
Indian-white mixed-bloods†	39	7.8
Indian-white-Negro mixed-bloods†	26	5.2
Total	500	100.0

*Individuals with the following physical characteristics were noted: (1) nose very broad, lips very full; (2) dark skin, hair almost kinky, lips thick; (3) skin *café com leite* ("coffee with milk"), hair exceedingly curly; (4) hair almost kinky; (5) lips full, nose broad, considerable prognathism.

†Ordinarily only slight traces of Indian ancestry evident in each case.

Since the total registration of births for each of these years averages slightly in excess of five hundred in a city of an estimated 360,000, the records are obviously incomplete. Many midwife deliveries go unrecorded; and, since these births occur usually among the lower classes, which are largely black and dark mulatto, the relative color percentages are probably skewed toward the white pole.

Deaths are less likely to go unrecorded. But since deaths

4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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occur to a considerable extent among the older generation, they throw no light on the extent of miscegenation in recent times. Consequently, their relative frequencies do not accurately reflect the present racial distribution in the *total* population.

TABLE 3*

BIRTHS ACCORDING TO COLOR, BAHIA, 1932

Color	City Proper		Outlying Villages		Total	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Branco	1,482	33.3	65	11.0	1,547	30.7
Preto	659	14.8	114	19.3	773	15.3
Pardo	2,314	51.9	411	69.7	2,725	54.0
Total	4,455	100.0	590	100.0	5,045	100.0

*Source: City records deposited in the Secretaria de Saude e Assistencia Publica da Bahia.

TABLE 4*

DEATHS ACCORDING TO COLOR, BAHIA, 1932

Color	City Proper		Outlying Villages		Total	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Branco	1,375	25.4	79	9.8	1,454	23.4
Preto	1,310	24.2	191	23.7	1,501	24.2
Pardo	2,722	50.4	536	66.5	3,258	52.4
Total	5,407	100.0	806	100.0	6,213	100.0

*Source: City records deposited in the Secretaria de Saude e Assistencia Publica da Bahia.

Bearing in mind these qualifications, we may note the color distribution among deceased at Bahia in 1932 (Table 4).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Bahia, one mulatto, and three blacks. Several substantial white citizens had received their early training under this man.

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The public library is patronized indiscriminately by members of all ethnic groups. Blacks, however, appear among its frequenters only in rather limited numbers. For instance, of 560 individuals using the library facilities on different days and at different hours during the day,[11] only 9.6 per cent were blacks, while 35.9 per cent were mulattoes and 52.7 per cent were whites.[12]

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In labor unions organization definitely follows class lines, and ethnic differences are largely lost sight of in the pursuit of common ends. Leadership, however, tends to be white or near-white, even in those unions composed predominantly of blacks and dark mixed-bloods. For instance, at a "solemn assembly" for the installation of new officers in a local labor union whose membership, limited to 550, is overwhelmingly Negro (as indicated by a detailed check of the members with the aid of the union secretary), the retiring president was a *branco da Bahia* and the incoming president a light mulatto. Only eleven *brancos* (probably all, or nearly all, of whom are *brancos da Bahia*) and relatively few mulattoes are to be found among the membership.[13]

[11] Samples were taken for each hour from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M., with the exception of 12:00 noon to 2:00 P.M., when the institution was closed.

[12] Also 7 (1.2 per cent) *cafusos*, 3 (0.5 per cent) *mamelucos*.

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[13] Of the speakers, 6 were blacks, 5 were mulattoes (2 quite light), 1 was a *branco da Bahia*, and 1 was a white. Among the themes presented were: "Solidarity! All Workers Are Brothers!" "Since the Revolution of 1930 Workers Are No Longer Slaves"; "Viva Getulio Vargas, the God, the Jesus, and the Senhor do Bomfim [patron saint of Bahia's poorer classes] of the Workers!" "Remember the Chicago Workers Who Died for Liberty!" "Save Brazil's Wealth from Exploitation by *Norte-Americanos* Who Hope To Seize Her Mines and Her Waterfalls and Make Slaves of Her People!" "Look to the World's Greatest Socialist and Sociologist, Jesus Christ."

[SALVADOR]

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*563 872 572 565 In the public elementary schools the students, in general little conscious of their rank, have a tendency to mix indiscriminately. The informants in general do not recall discriminatory attitudes on the part of their white fellow-students and state /69/ that from these contacts result -- it is not uncommon to ascertain this -- close and lasting friendships. A woman of liberal profession established good relations with white colleagues of the upper classes during her school years, amicable relations that have lasted to this day. In working in the public schools of Bahia, a psychologist confirmed, however, that the children group themselves according to their physical type, but that they have a tendency to seek out in class children lighter than they as seatmates. It is understandable that in this phase of development and socialization of the child the latter has greater facility in identifying those of his group according to physical appearance, especially if he finds himself away from his family and is not influenced by the criteria of social classification current there. Even in the secondary schools, numerous informants say, the students group themselves according to their physical type, but especially in terms of social and economic rank; friendships between young people belonging to two extremes of the color scale are confirmed on each level; more rarely between different social strata. "The daughters of doctors, even if they are dark," a woman informant declared, "are treated with more attention by the professors and their companions than the Whites and the colored children who are poor." The relations between colored students and their Jewish comrades seem to be good, if one is to believe certain information.

*563 • [217] In the libraries one can see students of very different types gathered around the same tables and working together. The colored students not only take part in groups on excursions, but sometimes are at the head of them; they happen to command their comrades of all types in the civic parades. A literary association founded by a black professor in a college-preparatory secondary school has white and colored members.

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